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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though [587] this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly ap- [585] proved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

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838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 831 562 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 762 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently committed suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide.

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while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride.

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife.

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs.

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the